

THE WORLD

TOMORROW

Why Nationalize Industry ?

H. N. BRAILSFORD

Behind Racial Friction

WILLIAM PICKENS

Probing Missions

SHERWOOD EDDY

NOVEMBER 23rd

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THE

SOCIALIST

VOTE

An Editorial

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This Week's Anniversary

WENDELL PHILLIPS

BORN NOVEMBER 29, 1811

Anti-slavery is a sad history to read, sad to look back upon. What a miserable refuse public opinion has been for the past twenty years! . . . Infamy, at that day, was not a monopoly of one sect. Hubbard Winslow, a Pharisee of the Pharisees, strictly Orthodox, a bigot in good and regular standing, shortly after this preached a sermon to illustrate and defend the doctrine, that no man, under a republican government, has a right to promulgate any opinion but such as "a majority of the brotherhood would allow and protect"; and he is said to have boasted that Judge Story thanked him for such a discourse! . . . Such was the temper of those times. The ignorant were not aware, and the wise were too corrupt to confess, that the most precious of human rights, free thought, was at stake. . . . I find that these people, who have made this day famous, [anniversary of the Boston mob] were accused in their own time of harsh language, and over-boldness, and great disparagement of dignities. . . . Then there was another charge brought against their meetings, that they indulged in exceedingly bold language about pulpits and laws and wicked magistrates. That is a sin which I hope will not die out. God grant that we may inherit that also. . . . Let us always remember that he does not really believe his own opinions who dares not give free scope to his opponent.—*At a meeting commemorating the 20th anniversary of the Boston Mob of 1835.*

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Galsworthy—One of God's Fools

In bestowing the 1932 Nobel prize in literature upon Galsworthy, the prize award committee has shown most intelligent judgment. While we should be the first to insist that a social point of view ought to be a primary qualification in a writer to whom such an honor is given, it can scarcely be denied that rather often in recent times the award has gone to authors whose merit has been derived in large measure from social observation. The man who gave us *The Forsyte Saga*, *The Island Pharisees* and other works of social depth, and such plays as *Loyalties* and *Old English*, may not be one of the world's greatest, but he has made this generation vastly richer. Discussion has inevitably been reopened about the comparative place in letters of Galsworthy and H. G. Wells, who, according to many, has long been in line for the same badge of merit. It may very well be that the committee has H. G. Wells in mind for a later occasion, for although in fact Wells is one year older than Galsworthy, who was born in 1867, he gives the impression of being much younger. One thinks of Galsworthy as a man approaching the exhaustion of his talents; while the humble and irrepressible Wells, gravitating between his dingy London apartment and his sunny cottage on the slopes back of Grasse, drives himself unbelievably hard, doing no dictating but setting down his amazingly ample works in his own handwriting, and yet appears—especially in his moments of relaxation—like a man in early middle age. Although we have found ourselves not a little irritated by the Wellsian facility of observation and judgment, we count him fully worthy of the same recognition that has come to Galsworthy, even while acknowledging, perforce, that his is great enough to have no need of it.

We confess to a special satisfaction that the prize has gone to a man who has done a great deal to build up internationalism, who has not hesitated to challenge the smug assumptions about war held in the early twenties by his American audiences, who has championed the cause of dumb animals and who, in his *First Thoughts On the War*, had the insight to write: 'The idealist said in his heart: "The God of Force is dead, or dying." He has been proven the fool that the man of affairs and the militarist always said he was. But the fools of this world—generally after they are beaten—have a way of moving men which the wise and practical believers in force have not. . . . The battle between the God of Love and the God of Force en-

dures forever. Fools of the former camp, drowned out and beaten to their knees, in due time will get up again and plant their poor little flag a little farther on. "All men shall be brothers," said the German fool, Schiller; so shall the fools say again when the time comes; and again, and again, after every beating!"

Soaking the Poor

There is but little doubt that the drive for a federal sales tax will be renewed with added vigor by the conservative forces in both of the old parties during the coming session of Congress. There will also be pressure upon the various state legislatures to adopt similar measures as a means of making good the shrinkage in the receipts from the general property tax and of providing the funds for unemployment relief. Such a program is being urged not only by the large business interests, but also by the Hearst press as a simple means of raising revenue and of avoiding the necessity for "soaking the rich" in order to balance the budget.

We should be clear, however, that in practice such a tax would "soak" the poor. For the cost of the tax would in the vast majority of instances be shifted forward to the consumers. At the very best, if all products were taxed, this would mean that the wealthy would pay the same proportion of their income as the poor. But proportional taxation, as every student of public finance knows, is not enough. For the man with an annual income of \$100,000 who paid a two per cent tax amounting to \$2000 would not suffer the same psychic loss as would the unskilled laborer who out of an income of \$1000 was compelled to give up \$20. If, however, the sales tax is applied only to articles of consumption, as is frequently proposed, the burden would actually be regressive, and the poor man would contribute a larger fraction of his income than would the wealthy man. For the low income workers spend virtually all of their incomes on food, clothing, shelter and other consumers' goods, while the well-to-do reinvest a part of their income. If this were not taxed, then the percentage of income which they would turn over to the government would be less than that given by those millions of hard-pressed families who are either clinging to or are below the bare margin of existence.

It is sometimes said that this can be avoided by exempting certain necessities from taxation. We do not place much credence in this possibility, however, because of the fact that if the sales tax is exclusively

relied upon, the exemption of necessities would so reduce the yield that the exemption would not be granted.

The fiscal principles which should be followed seem clear. First, that it is not sound public policy for the government to balance its budget during a depression period. It should, on the contrary, meet deficits by a creation of monetary purchasing power which will make good in some degree the shrinkage in purchasing power caused by the business debacle. Later, when prosperity returns, receipts should be made to exceed expenditures and the surplus be devoted to retiring the bonds issued during the depression. Second, to the degree that taxes are levied during the depression, they should fall primarily on those who can bear them most rather than upon those who can bear them least. But the duped masses, having just turned out Tweedledum to install Tweedledee, will find that their old masters in new guise will make them pay just the same.

Blurring It Out!

It is a relief to us—if not to the unemployed—to have one organ of capitalism say in unvarnished words just how it conceives the present position in society of those who are obliged to accept public relief. Ordinary capitalist talk with respect to our distressed citizens represents a tangle of ideas. Instinctive sympathy, ethical and religious motives, assumptions with regard to the functions of government, supposed principles of economics, and apprehension of social conflict—all these are so mixed that what is distinctive in the capitalist approach is not readily perceived.

But not so the *Chicago Tribune*, whose editorial utterances upon political and economic topics are noteworthy for clarity and frankness. The *Tribune* is often blamed for its practical materialism and for its espousal of stark militarism, economic imperialism, and a class-ruled economic order, and for the scorn that it has for what it regards as the loose thinking and the sentimentalism of its opponents. But even its opponents should be thankful that it knows the recesses of the capitalist mind and is willing to expose them to view without glossing them over. What, then, does the *Tribune* take to be the relation between those who provide unemployment relief and those who accept it?

At a meeting held in the offices of the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission spokesmen for organizations of the unemployed took their stand for relief in the form of cash instead of rations, against the proposed sales tax, for increasing the tax upon corporations, for taxing incomes above \$5,000, and for a capital levy upon fortunes of \$25,000 or more. The *Tribune* says that they "demanded" these things—it appears that they did not beg. In this situation, we are assured, the proper thing would have been to invite the representatives of the unemployed "to take their hats and clear out." The proposals, it is said, were impertinent. For "the recipients of unemployment relief are objects of

charity. They are on the county. It was their duty to support themselves and their families and in addition to help support the common government. For one reason or another they have failed to make good grade. . . . The money has been given not because victims of the hurricane [the depression] have a right to it but because the community has a heart and wisdom to prevent physical suffering."

Here one point in the capitalist philosophy becomes clear. Even when food is plentiful, men have no right to life; the unemployed have become objects of charity to the persons whose wealth they help create; though the unemployed are American citizens it is impertinent for them to make any demands with respect to a burning question of national policy.

Would that this editorial (published November 1932) could be read, studied, and inwardly digested by the unemployed and by the millions of our people whose goodwill towards the unemployed, as long as it lacks a politico-economic focus, will not get us any beyond the soup-kitchen stage.

The Socialist Vote

A week after the election the size of the Socialist vote is not yet certain, but there is very little probability that it will surpass 750,000 votes. Foes conceded and friends expected at least double that amount and the *Literary Digest* poll gave reason to expect a vote of nearly two million. Naturally the disappointment is great among adherents of the party. "bleacher coaches" are busy telling the world how the captain and the quarterback should have run the team to insure a victory or, in this case, a more splendid and impressive defeat.

We are not inclined to place too great an emphasis upon these post-election criticisms. The party may have made mistakes. It was probably wrong to take a plank on confiscation at the convention and then improvise a plank on a capital levy in the last days of the campaign when it was too late to educate the electorate on the meaning of a capital levy. It was probably wrong to spend as much time as some Socialist speakers did in proving that Franklin Roosevelt was not a liberal and not enough time in expounding the principles of socialism. But the real fact is that the American people are not yet thinking profoundly upon political issues. Three years of the dark brown taint of the morning after have not been sufficient to bring a nation to its senses after decades of a national jaundice. The average American, whether worker or bourgeois, still believes that the depression is an "act of God," the harmful effects of which will be overcome by patience, hard work and confidence. Quite obviously the Socialist party has failed almost completely to win the loyalty of the workers. At least half of the recorded votes very obviously came from the middle classes, chiefly professional people. The development of so much Socialist sentiment among the middle class

without corresponding support from the proletarians is an interesting and in some respects a uniquely American phenomenon. Whether it means that America will work out a different pattern of social change than that revealed in all the industrial nations of Europe is a question about which there will be considerable difference of opinion for some years to come. It is highly problematical whether a large portion of the middle class vote will stick to socialism, once class lines become sharply drawn and a change in the social structure becomes really imminent. A certain small portion of the middle classes will undoubtedly be ready to make common cause with the workers but it will certainly not be in proportion to the strength of the middle-class group in the present Socialist Party. The Socialist vote is really more revealing in regard to the mind of labor than to that of the bourgeoisie. It reveals that labor is still politically unintelligent. Until labor unions begin to educate their members for political action, soap-boxing on the street corners will be of comparatively little avail. A new political movement will have to grow up in organic relation with a new labor movement which will fight the worker's battle on the industrial front and extend that front to politics. The American Federation is, after all, growing daily more impotent on the economic front, and it is quite possible that its ineptness in both the political and the industrial life of the nation will be revealed simultaneously. In that event the gradual formation of a new labor movement with both economic and political objectives and strategies may be expected.

All this is prophecy. The only thing certain in the present moment is that in spite of fervent hopes and sacrificing toil on the part of many, a really potent Socialist movement has not yet come to birth in this nation.

What Does It Mean?

Politicians are funny. After warning the people that Democratic victory would ruin the nation, the Republicans are now busy assuring the country that they will subordinate party interest to "patriotism" and loyally support the new administration in hastening economic recovery. "Forward march," declares Senator Vandenberg, "let us have the equivalent of a coalition government." President Hoover also piously assures his successor of his support in the "common purpose" which they share. It is all very nice and brotherly, but what does it really mean? And why does Mr. Hoover proffer coöperation in one breath and in the next predict a Republican victory four years hence? Are the Democrats bound to fail in spite of Republican coöperation, and will a repentant people thus be forced to creep back to the protection of true Republicanism? The politicians are really quite as ridiculous after election as they were during the campaign. We will probably be treated in the very near future to an effort toward a Democratic-Republican coalition to foist an-

other sales tax on the American people. Furthermore, it is fairly safe to predict that even the most tentative efforts at tariff reform will be frustrated by a combination of Republicans and high-tariff Democrats. All this will be serviceable in educating a politically incompetent nation, but the education will be very costly.

Minnesota Comes Through

Whatever may be thought of the future of the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party, it has in this election taught the country a lesson in the value of building a political movement on local strength, from the ground up. It elected a Governor, a Lieutenant-Governor, and a Railroad and Warehouse Commissioner; it sent to the state legislature substantially half of the candidates to which it had given its endorsement; and unless late returns from remote districts upset the vote as we go to press, it has sent five of its candidates to the United States House of Representatives. Of these, Paul J. Kvale has demonstrated during his last term considerable independence and an unquestioned integrity of mind, if not a high degree, as yet, of political imagination; Ernest Lundeen has proved during his previous term in Congress, years ago, his courage in voting against war; Henry Arends, a farmer, is an unknown quantity nationally, but has a good statewide repute; while Magnus Johnson and F. H. Shoemaker are fighters whose hearts are in the right place but whose judgment, we fear, is hardly of the best.

Our satisfaction over the outcome in Minnesota is, however, somewhat tempered. Senator Shipstead behaved with intolerable disloyalty, refusing his endorsement to some of his party's candidates, mainly because of their liberalism. Mayor William Mahoney of St. Paul, from whom something vastly better could reasonably have been expected, came out last summer for Roosevelt. Governor Floyd Olson made a flagrant deal whereby, in return for a pledge of the Democratic candidate, he swung the Farmer-Labor vote, in so far as he could, to the Roosevelt candidacy. Whether or not a party which tolerates such tactics can in the long run be anything but a misnomer, may be doubted. The final test of its integrity will be revealed by the degree to which its Congressional delegation stands up against compromises with the Democratic steam-roller at Washington.

The Deluge of the Debtors

Like a pack of hounds unleashed at a familiar signal, the European nations, once the American election was over, came baying to the doorstep of the White House. To many of our people, the default of Greece, the prospective default of Hungary, and the open plea of France and England for a "review" of the debt situation, mean only that a conspiracy of unscrupulous debtors is trying to make Uncle Sam the victim of their own dishonor and improvidence. In terms of strict logic, there is, of course, much to sustain such a

view. But there is more than even justice to be thought of. The structure of Franco-German peace rests almost entirely at the present moment on the Lausanne agreement, whereby German reparations are reduced to \$714,000,000; but this settlement, which brought the one ray of hope into international negotiations last summer, depends obviously upon some favorable concessions by the United States with regard to the war debts. Raging as the unsympathetic American nationalist may, he must reckon with the fact that insistence upon the payment of these debts to the last farthing would be a most efficient way to thwart any upturn of world trade and to protract still further the worst aspects of the depression. President Hoover, in passing the burden to Congress and to President-elect Roosevelt, has done a skillful piece of political maneuvering; Mr. Roosevelt's post-election elation, we suspect, is already dissipated. It will require skill all around to find a formula that can be tantamount to an annual cancellation, or whatever evasion of reality may be devised, at once to meet the indubitable exigencies of the European situation and quiet the clamor of American resentment. The danger is that so much emphasis may be placed upon the \$123,641,698 in principal and interest payments due us from ten nations on December 15 that the benefits in economic restoration that might accrue from a frank stroke of generosity may be entirely lost.

The Devil of Malthus Is Chained

A decade ago the Western world was frightened by a series of books and articles which emphasized the ogre of over-population. If the population of the United States had increased over twenty-fold in the course of a century and a quarter, what dire misfortune would overtake us, we were asked, in the century to come? The fruits of social progress, according to these prophets of despair, bade fair to be devoured by the sheer quantitative expansion of population.

The downward movement in the birth rate during the last ten years, from between 24 and 25 to the thousand of population to a little under 18, has removed some of these fears. Still more of them are removed by the analyses which have been made independently by Dublin and Lotka and by Kucynski. These scholars have pointed out that our birth rate is as high as it is partly because of the abnormally high proportion of men and women in the 20- to 45-year age groups. This disproportionate number has been caused by the high birth rates of the past, the relatively low death rates, and by immigration. With the virtual cessation of the latter force and as those at present in the procreating period pass on into the upper age groups, we would have a birth rate which would not be greatly above 15 to the thousand, while the death rate would, because of the larger proportion in the upper age groups, be raised to not far from 16. There seems therefore to

be an actual deficit in the true rate of population change and all signs point therefore to a maximum population of approximately 150 millions somewhere between 1960 and 1970.

The social consequences which will result from this will be very far reaching. Real estate booms are likely to be things of the past, the crude boosterism which places its sole faith in quantitative expansion will diminish, and in its place a sorely needed emphasis upon cultural values may come to the fore.

We Salute the Rabbis!

We have learned to expect vigorous pronouncements on social questions when the Central Conference of American Rabbis meets in annual session. The assembly which met at Cincinnati a few days ago subjected us to no disappointment. The inhumane aspects of the present social order were severely indicted in a report submitted by Rabbi Israel as chairman of the Commission on Social Justice which was adopted by the Conference. The rabbis declared that the existing order "is neither economically sound nor can it be morally sanctioned. We therefore advocate immediate legislative action in the direction of changes whereby social control will place the instruments of production and distribution, as well as the system of profits, increasingly within the power of society as a whole. The Conference pleaded for adequate government appropriations—municipal, state, and federal—for relief of the unemployed. Concerning freedom of speech it was declared: "We deplore a tendency to abrogate this freedom by a growing spirit of economic dictatorship, the greatest menace to the orderly solution of the problems of our social and industrial life." The sales tax was vigorously condemned and a demand made for increased rates on the higher brackets of income. It was admitted that graduated levies on capital may yet be necessary.

Gadzooks, Milords!

What's this? Reform the House of Lords? Incredible as it sounds, that is precisely the proposal of a joint committee issued amid the tense drawn breath of the men and women of Great Britain on the eve of the night of November 10. One central purpose of the change is to give the Lords more power to resist the encroachments of socialism; it seems evident that Mr. Ramsay MacDonalds and Viscount Philip Snowden are not looked for in every generation of labor leaders with their handy way of turning things over to bankers and nobles, and when it comes to the future, the hereditary superiors are not ruining chances. Already Baron Passfield, taking a leaf out of his wife's book and especially learning something from experience, indeed belatedly, has decided that he can manage to get along hereafter as plain Sydney Webb; this sort of sinister thing could not go unrebuked. The Lords

asked now to reduce their number from 759 to 150, though what this has to do with stopping Socialists in the House from drafting obnoxious laws we do not see, since only a mere handful of the Lords ever come to business anyway, except on those rare occasions when the Labor Party really has something interesting to propose, such as a democratic education bill. The committee wants to have 150 peers chosen, not by the fate of birth, but by their own number, and another 150 by county councils. In a limited number, insurance against just what we cannot say, women are to be allowed, provided noble blood flows in their veins.

Well, England's at a pretty pass. There must be potholes in the woollack, or some equally dire situation, to bring that ancient body to take any action at all, let alone in the direction of innovation. It only shows what evil times are these. The next thing we shall hear of is one of the Lords actually using that splendid library of serious tomes which is usually as a store of Their Lordships as Mother Hubbard's cupboard of its own dry bones. If someone tells us that pretty soon each law passed will not have to be ushered into the world by the rigmarole of *le Roi le veut*, we shall almost believe him.

Why, even in the House, where no man dare step on the central strip of carpet separating the sides of the chamber lest he be out of order (because the older debaters had to be kept at swords' length), they are talking about installing voting machines to prevent the endless nuisance of marching through the division lobbies! All we can say is, when that day arrives on which a House attendant ceases to greet an approaching courier from the Lords with a peep through a grated door and a roar of "I spy the King's messenger," the British Empire, Sir, will totter to its ruin. But no; it cannot be. The Horse Guards are still in Whitehall; pomp and circumstance still give the illusion of social justice and general well-being, even in the midst of cruel poverty. As Philip Snowden said in his great speech ushering in the National Government,—long before unemployment had increased and trade still further declined—England yet shall stand!

Perpetuating Mythology

Armistice Day has come and gone, and once more school here and there, and a pacifist organization also, has solemnized the day with a real remembrance of the truth about war and a warning of what another war would mean. But in the main, in the Etoile at Paris, the Abbey at London, and similarly in Brussels, Rome, and Washington, the welkin has rung with pious words about peace uttered over the graves of the unknown soldiers, and spoken to the roll of drums, the flare of trumpets and the tramp of marching men. America's radio chains carried once again those prodigious myths about exclusive German defiance and

blocking of neutral sea traffic and our winning of the War against militarism. Even in Munich this year, we fear, Europe's saddest and loveliest memorial to the victims of war must have rung with the renewed clank of sabers. To the initiate—the historian and the sophisticated student of the World War—the truth about its diplomacy, its struggles and its failures is well known. But not so to the masses, whose ignorance is deepened every twelvemonth by the barrage of Armistice Day propaganda. The British government last year brought out an official report showing that the famous attack on Zeebrugge Mole did *not* block up the German submarines except for 24 hours; but British schoolboys on a cross-channel pilgrimage every summer are taught about the marvels of this successful exploit.

It is the same in every land. We note in a Connecticut paper: "Col. Charles Lockhart, of New Haven, wartime commander in the Yankee Division, thrilled students at Shelton High School this morning with his vivid description of the World War, in an Armistice Day address entitled 'Memories of 1917.' The program opened with a salute to the flag, followed by the singing of the Star Spangled Banner. . . . A Scripture reading by Principal Mosely followed." That, obviously, made it all right.

Socializing Canadian Railways

During the past month both the official report and the five bulky volumes of evidence compiled by the Duff Commission, appointed to investigate the railway situation in Canada, have been released for public consumption. The report can be purchased at Ottawa; the evidence has not been printed but may be read in the Parliamentary Library at Ottawa. There are rumors, however, that owing to the extreme candor of some of the witnesses and in consequence of the rather bright light thrown on railway affairs and railwaymen's mentalities, the authorities intend to forbid access to the evidence. Meanwhile, however, considerable transcription is going on and enough of the evidence has appeared in the press to be interesting.

It is with the conclusions of the Commissioners that the ordinary observer is most concerned. They constitute an analysis of the financial, traffic, and administrative problems confronting Canadian railways, covering the years 1923-1931, and they make certain very definite recommendations. In the analysis some readers profess to see bias against the Canadian National Road, the publicly owned system, and in favor of the Canadian Pacific, the privately owned system. But careful reading will probably weaken that impression. The Commissioners speak of "the red thread of extravagance" running through the administrative practices of the Canadian National and its "freedom in expenditure," but they very soon present figures showing that the "red thread" ran through Canadian

Pacific practice as well. For example, while the Canadian National administration failed to realize that "this country could not afford expenditures for unwarranted branch lines, for de luxe services, for unrequited hotels," etc., the Canadian Pacific Railway was also actively hitting these high spots. In 1923 the National system had less than 10 million dollars invested in hotels: the Canadian Pacific Railway 24 million. During the next nine years the Canadian National Railway spent a little over 22 millions on additions, while the Canadian Pacific Railway spent nearly 47 millions. Furthermore, it can be shown that the expenditure per mile on the Canadian National Railway is not very much greater than on the Canadian Pacific Railway while in such matters as the operating ratio of fuel to the general cost of railway, the publicly owned system has cut its cost a little below that of its rival.

The Commissioners found, however, that both railways had been guilty of mad and bad administration and in their recommendations propose to deal drastically with that situation. They reject the proposal to amalgamate the two lines. But they propose to put the Canadian National Railway wholly under the control of three trustees, non-political in character, and with plenary powers to govern the system. They go further, for they were evidently impressed with the recalcitrance of the private system and the failure of both lines to "get together in their own interests and in the interests of the public." They state flatly that "There must be joint action" and coöperation between the systems must be made statutory and compulsory so as to cut down waste, duplication and extravagance. An arbitral tribunal of three, one member from each railway and the Chairman from the Board of Railway Commissioners, is provided in the Report to settle disputes between the systems and to decide finally what shall be done. There shall be no appeal from this tribunal.

The scheme is a bold and vigorous effort to make the Canadian railways toe the line of public interest, and while the refusal to amalgamate the lines seems to be an unnecessary compromise, the powers of the tribunal, if exercised as the Commission intends, will impose a social restraint and responsibility on the private system that will bring it practically into line with the publicly owned system.

The act to implement the recommendations of the Commission is now under discussion in the Canadian Senate, and it is significant that the iron man, Premier Bennett, has not attempted to drive his own bill through Parliament but is leaving it to be pulled to pieces and possibly whittled down by his cohorts. Cynics say that now if ever the private railway interests have their chance. But if the spirit and letter of the Commission really infuse the act when it is finally passed, it looks as though Canada has taken another

long step towards socializing her railway services—despite the retention of the nominally private integrity of the Canadian Pacific Railway. The fact is, the railway systems are now seen to be a single public utility in which the anarchy of competition and uncontrolled political profiteering are no longer tolerable, and the capitalist Commissioners of the Duff body have recommended as near an approach to a socialistic reform as they could be expected to do.

Mobs and Swiss Militarism

If it is true, as reported, that Swiss Socialists attempted to break into a hall in Geneva on November 1 and suppress a meeting of superpatriotic anti-Socialists we have nothing but condemnation for such tactics. On that particular point there seems to be as yet a certain confusion in dispatches, some of the accounts stating that nothing more than a demonstration of protest outside the hall was intended or carried out. What does seem clear is that among the foreign population at Geneva there is general agreement that the Swiss authorities made a mess of a simple situation.

But what was the real crux of the affair? Nothing less than the Swiss military system, that much-touted civilian army scheme under the "democracy" of conscription. No sojourner in the land of the cantons can overlook the companies of boys, hardly out of their teens on the average, practicing maneuvers or traveling from their home cities to the military encampments. It was a group of these young lads with rifles in their hands which angered the crowd of radicals if guns were snatched out of the hands of the young troopers, unless we are totally ignorant of the Swiss rebel the attack was due no more to the use of the troops for a dispersal of the crowd than to a deep-seated disgust over the militarization of Swiss youth under the capitalist governments of recent years.

The Swiss Socialist Party is one of the strongest in Europe in its abhorrence of militarism, as well as one of the most radical in its general social viewpoint; it was one of the few national parties to support the radical anti-preparedness resolution which was introduced by Fenner Brockway for the British Independent Labor Party at the Labor and Socialist International Congress at Vienna in 1931, and which was steam-rolled by the moderate Socialist majority. It has been fighting vigorously in Switzerland to defend the numerous war resisters who have been sentenced for refusal to serve in the armed forces, and has been campaigning also against the dominance of large business interests that are fully as cynical and anti-social as those in any part of the world. We shall reserve judgment regarding the recent outbreak until we have more reliable facts at hand; but in any case, to entrust youngsters with loaded rifles in such a situation, and to place them under the orders of typical militarist officers, is to make bloodshed almost a certainty.



as Brailsford sees it

How to Socialize Industry

WHAT, in concrete terms, and in emotional values, is the gain to the workers from the nationalization of an industry? Some of us were forced to put this question very sharply to ourselves after a debate which stands out as one of the three or four really significant discussions during the Conference of the British Labor Party at Leicester. One is apt to suppose that nationalization in any form must be a gain. But plainly it is a question of degrees, and these degrees are rather widely separated.

The debate arose over one of the four resolutions and memoranda prepared by the Executive. It sketched a plan for the reorganization of our rather chaotic transport services, which was the work of Herbert Morrison, an able man, a former elementary school teacher, with a rather hard, realistic mind and a talent for organization. As Minister of Transport of the Labor government, he drafted a bill for the nationalization of the London traffic services (subways, trolley cars, and omnibuses), as a utility under public management, which is likely, though somewhat mutilated, to become law under the National government. With this creditable achievement behind him, he has now sketched a broad scheme on similar lines for the whole country. It begins by creating a National Transport Board, whose main duty would be to co-ordinate the present chaos. Road motor services compete with the railways, and these latter with each other. The canals are neglected and obsolescent. Coastwise shipping is ill-organized. The ports are only occasionally dovetailed adequately into these services. Air transport, save for long distance flights, is strangely neglected. The whole complex has grown up haphazard. While the railway passengers' service is for speed and safety as good as any in the world, the goods transport is incredibly costly and obsolete in system and equipment. The scheme proposes to nationalize the railways as a single system. The other services are to be, in a few suitable cases, socialized, while all of them will come under a tight unified control. I do not propose to give the technical details, which would hardly interest American readers; it is enough to say that the scheme is a competent piece of work which assuredly promises an incomparably better

and cheaper system of transport than we possess today.

This scheme aroused little enthusiasm in the Conference. Everyone realized, of course,

that it grasps one of the keys to power. The State cannot plan our economic life unless it controls transport. No one doubted that cheap and efficient communications mean a gain to every consumer. But socialism, the conference evidently felt, ought to mean much more than this. We have long outlived the early Fabian days, when the case for socialism was argued mainly on the ground that capitalism robs the consumer. To be sure it does, but it steals something more precious than dollars and pounds: it robs the worker of human dignity and the joy of creation. The leaders of the railwaymen supported the scheme, but Mr. Clay on behalf of the transport workers attacked it in a speech of rare eloquence. On the whole, I think he had the Conference with him, and the Executive, without risking a vote, took it back for further consideration.

THE attack centered on the composition of the sovereign body, the National Transport Board. It is not to be elective or representative. It is to be appointed from above, by the Ministry of Transport, and its members are to be chosen solely for business ability, for the capacity to organize. Some may be Socialists, some may even be workers or former workers, but if any of either category are chosen, it will not be because they are workers or Socialists, but solely on the ground of general executive ability. One knows the type. We felt fairly sure that we could name two or three who certainly would be appointed: Lord So-and-So, the successful promoter of companies in the London transport world, Sir This-and-That, once a civil servant and statistician, and now a railroad president. We did not dispute their capacity nor are they the predatory sort of capitalist. Similar persons would form the railway board, diluted perhaps by one or two Labor Union or Coöperative officials who would have no direct connection with transport. The prospect did not fill us with enthusiasm.

Another aspect of this matter struck me forcibly, though little was said about it in the debate. The proposals for compensating the present owners of

railway stock were timid and vague. Certainly one must compensate, if one wishes to avoid a violent revolution. But need one do it in the form of a tribute which will burden the railways forever? Can nothing be done with annuities terminable with a single life? Our British railways are scandalously over-capitalized. For nearly a century they have paid ransom to the typical landowner, who first enclosed and appropriated common land that belonged to the peasantry, then extorted compensation from the railway, because its coming would destroy the amenities of his estate, and finally reaped a great harvest of unearned wealth, because in fact the railway multiplied many times over the value of the land that he retained. This ransom it still will pay, even when it is nationalized. In these conditions, grinding out with his daily toil the tribute of these passive shareholders, will the worker feel that he has escaped from capitalism?

THE critics, led by the eloquent Mr. Clay, boldly proposed that the governing boards should, by whatever process, be chosen by the workers of the industry, or at least that these should be adequately represented on the board. Guild socialism is dead as an organized movement, but it has left its deep impress on the minds of the workers. They want self-government. They wish to feel that they run the railways, that theirs is the responsibility, theirs the creative satisfaction. They want to serve under captains of their own choice. It is arguable that this method of selection would have great psychological advantages, by inducing a spirit of pride in the service, a social ambition, a sense of contentment and dignity.

The case for the nomination of the governing board by the State is none the less a formidable one. A socialized industry exists to serve the community, and not exclusively the workers engaged in it. What is wanted at the top is organizing capacity. One may doubt whether the workers have that wide knowledge of the available talent which would enable them to make this choice, even if personal ambitions played no part. Again, if one adopts the representative basis, one must include consumers as well as workers, including in this case the industries served by transport. A board so composed could not govern with a single eye to efficiency: its office would become a battlefield of clashing interests. Russia began with elected managers but was soon driven by experience to adopt nomination from above.

We should not cite Russia, however, without noting the differences. The State which nominates the directors of socialized industry is itself a workers' state, a classless society. The director, if he holds an important position, is nearly always a Communist. He draws only the low salary of a party man. He talks to his men as one of themselves, and appeals

to ideas and motives which they share with him. He readily becomes their accepted leader, as no director can do who must first cross a class barrier. The Russian workers feel, moreover, that the whole system fosters promotion from the ranks, and assists by education. They realize that no part of the produce of their toil goes to loan or share capital. The surplus is visibly building the proud structure of the new Russia around them, and a fixed percentage of it is applied, under their own control, to satisfy their own cultural and social needs. They see at their own doors the clubs, hospitals, theatres and houses that they have earned. Finally, an elected committee protects their dignity and comfort, and voices, though it cannot impose, their views about the conduct of the industry itself.

Not all of this could be realized within the first generation in an industry socialized on this British plan. Class will die hard and vanish slowly. The tribute of interest will still hang over us. But the Labor Party's scheme might have developed with more detail and imagination the human aspects of socialization, which are at once within our reach. Mr. Clay did mention very briefly: (1) shop committees concerned with the daily life of the men, (2) training for promotion, and (3) the creation of an elective Consultative Committee of the men, which would have the right to discuss with the board not merely matters directly affecting the men's interests but the whole range of industrial policy. Consumers, if proposed, shall have a similar council. Nothing was said, however, about the disposal of the surplus, nor was the obvious compromise considered, by which the men's committee, though it should not make appointments to the governing board, might be called in for consultation before they are finally made.

H. N. Brailsford

London, November 1, 1932.

Rebirth

MY casket, fashioned unaware, yet strong,
From wood of ease, veneering alibi,
A good intention hinge, a velvet sigh,
A secret lock of pride to keep the song
Of hope from doing slumber any wrong,
Is such a comfortable place to lie,
To yawn, to stretch, to fold the hands, to die
Complacently, unroused by duty's gong. . . .

God, thunderbolt this confined fool's repose,
And breathe once more the breath of life in me.
Pall bearers, I will carry you instead,
And help remove the mourner's drooping rose.
My toll and dirge have turned to jubilee.
Such death will never sepulchre my head.

LLOYD FRANK MERRELL

What Is Back of Race Friction?

WILLIAM PICKENS

IN the United States we have the representatives of all races, but the major distinction in thought, and often in practice, is made between the vast "black" race and the vaster "white" race. This distinction is not biological; it is sociological and historical. There are hundreds of thousands of white individuals of the so-called black race who are known to have a little of Negro blood, but there are also millions in the white race who have Negro blood but are not known to have it.

There are various elements in this white group, as for example Irish contrasted with Swedish, or Italian contrasted with Russian, which elements are further apart biologically than the lighter half of the American Negro race is from the Caucasian race. Nine-tenths of all the Negroes in America have in their veins more or less of the blood of these white stocks. We say this to indicate that the word "race," as applied between these two major groups, is not a word out of biology but a word out of sociology, law and custom.

If the problem lay in biology, it would be hopeless for us, for it could be solved only by evolution, and evolution may take a million million years. Nature is prodigal of time and material; she may take a million years to excavate a lake or wear down a hill, and may deposit a billion eggs to raise a dozen frogs. In sociology we may take relative short-cuts, through education, acquaintanceship, coöperation, social reaction. This is simple, but it is difficult, for we are hindered by habits, prejudices, selfish interests and fear—and the worst of these is fear.

We need first acquaintanceship. People do not get acquainted through caste relationships. The master does not know the slave; the boss does not know the laborer; the employer does not know the employee as a man and fellow-citizen. The relationship of "inferior" and "superior" stands in the way of fraternal acquaintance. These people live on different planes, and it is good mathematics that objects moving in different planes cannot go along together, even though they may collide occasionally at accidental intersections. They may approach and recede, but they never really meet and understand. A man of one caste dons a mask whenever he approaches a representative of a different caste. They never fully reveal themselves.

But wherever two groups are handicapped by caste-customs, the stronger and advantaged group can never understand the weaker and disadvantaged group as well as the weak can understand the strong. This is not due to any superior virtue in the weak but is due to their necessity: the weak must understand the

strong; it is a condition of the survival of the weak. Black Mississippi will understand white Mississippi far better than the latter will understand the former, even if the whites are better educated in a general way; for the weak can outdo the strong in one particular—the particular of understanding. *Mirabile dictu!* but true and explainable.

Let us take Georgia for an example: there is not a white man's home from one end of Georgia to the other that is worth going into that Negroes have not been in, from cellar to garret. The better a white man's home in Georgia, the more the colored people will know about it. But the homes of the poor whites, the uncultured and disorderly, will be unknown to colored people. Now let us get at the other end of this social telescope and see how everything will be just reversed: there is not a black man's home in the whole state of Georgia that any white man who was worth going into it ever entered. The better, the more cultured and the more orderly a black man's home is in Georgia, the surer we can be that no white man ever entered it. But the low, uncultured, disorderly homes of black people in Georgia are almost certain to be well known to white people, and to very influential white people: the sheriff, the chief of police, the prosecutor, the judge, the jury and the readers of all the newspapers..

WITH this example in mind, we can now strike at the very heart of interracial and inter-caste problems: a weaker race has a better chance to know most about the finest and the best of the stronger race; while the stronger race is more likely to know most about the weakest and the worst of the weaker race. Neither race is to be blamed for its abnormal viewpoint. It is nobody's deliberate planning; it is in the very nature of segregated relationships. In such relationships the strong will control the weak and will therefore deal chiefly, almost exclusively, with the undesirable qualities and elements of the weak; while the weaker and poorer people will serve the strong and will therefore develop contacts with the economically better-off and generally more cultured and refined sections of the strong.

But while we cannot be blamed for the inevitable results of a given system, we are to be blamed if we do not seek to alter the system and thereby secure better results. A dominant race will have an almost one hundred per cent knowledge of the crime and criminals of a subject race, because the dominant race will run all the courts and jails; but the dominant race may have

an almost zero knowledge of the law-abiding elements of the weaker race, so that in their impatience the strong may come to feel that there are really no cultured and law-abiding persons in the weaker group, but that the others just have not been caught yet. This is the only possible apology for the ridiculous statement of impatient and exasperated whites, who have dealt only with Negro thieves, when they say heatedly that there are no honest Negroes; when they have dealt only with ignorant blacks, that there are no intelligent Negroes; when they have had relations only with black prostitutes, that there are no colored women who are virtuous and chaste. If color-caste is capable of such vitiation of human relations, color-caste ought to be destroyed, and men of the same cultural levels ought to be recognized as men and granted the privileges of their culture.

In analyzing the art of living together, it is well to know that a man will like people better when he does something for them and hate them most when he does most against them. It is not the sentiment that causes the deed, it is the deed that causes the sentiment. The deed is the antecedent. If we want to like people, let us start doing good to them; if we wish to give nourishment to our hatred, let us feed it with deeds of ill against the objects of the hatred. Hate, in and by itself, is an empty illusion that would tend to vanish; to be kept in the semblance of life, it must be continually fed on the substance of deeds. That is all good psychology and is easy to explain: when we do good to a man, we psychologically range ourselves on his side, so that his defense becomes also our self-defense; but when we do evil to him, we range ourselves with the forces that are against him, so that our self-defense becomes psychologically involved with those who are attacking him. Let us see: there are two men who are equally indifferent to Negro education, but being solicited, the one gives a thousand dollars toward Negro education and the other gives nothing. Subsequently let both of those men hear the same violent attack on Negro education. The one who gave will feel outraged by such an attack, while the one who refused to give will feel justified. The subsequent psychological reaction is something like this: the one who gave says, "Negro education is all right, otherwise I would never have been such a fool as to give my money toward it"; while the one who did not give reasons: "Good! I knew it was not stinginess and the lack of generosity that caused me to refuse to give—it was my good sense about this problem." So much for the man who refuses to do good. But it is still worse for the man who not only refuses good but does evil. Those who have opposed Negro education themselves feel still more justified and comforted when they can range themselves side by side with other opposers.

THIS psychological reaction explains many things. It explains why those who have for over two generations supported Negro education in America are practically one hundred per cent defenders of the cause, while some who have opposed it have become more desperate and violent in their opposition and will not acknowledge even when they are convinced. The man who fights a good cause must continually show that the cause was wrong in order to show that he is right. Therefore, love is promoted by deeds of good while deeds of ill become motives for hate. That also explains the apparent reversal of cause and effect in the fact that those who are wronged never can hate as heartily as can those who wrong them. White people have often marveled at the phenomenon that the American Negro, enslaved and oppressed, has not developed quite the hatred against his oppressors that some of his oppressors have developed against him. This has been erroneously set down as a contrast of racial traits; but it is simply the difference in spiritual need between the perpetrator and the victim of wrong. The one who is so unfortunate as to do wrong has a far greater motive for developing hatred than has the unfortunate to whom that wrong is done—namely, the motive of self-justification.

EVIDENTLY the more coöperation, the better understanding; and the better understanding, the better for living together. Then, logically, everything that hinders or hampers interracial coöperation should be prevented or removed in so far as possible. Coöperation brings acquaintanceship, and no church, creed, no bill of rights, no constitutional article, no wordy resolutions and no pious prayers can ever be substituted for plain, old-fashioned acquaintanceship in the business of living together. Segregation prevents or handicaps acquaintanceship. Therefore, no form of interracial segregation which it is practicable to avoid in a given community should ever be tolerated. It may be conceded that in the present generation it is socially impossible to remove certain interracial barriers in Mississippi, but nevertheless it is possible to prevent the inauguration of those barriers in northern Illinois. An evil should not be allowed to spread; like slavery, race discrimination should be confined to its present boundaries and limitations until it can be destroyed. The ideal in America is equality of citizenship and of public privilege. That ideal should be supported, and the opposite ideal should not be allowed to gain ground and should be compelled as rapidly as possible to yield the ground it has already taken. Infinite patience is needed; sheer force can achieve little. In the present moment force cannot open the public schools of Georgia to colored children, but wisdom and foresight can prevent the closing of the public schools of New York to the children of any race.

Racial blood-purity has no relation to the subject. Racial integrity" in America was lost when the first shipload of Negro slaves was put ashore in Virginia more than 300 years ago. After that beginning time was the only element needed to complete the process. Where two races live together on the same soil nothing can prevent ultimate amalgamation. But here is a strange truth: inequality of status speeds up the process of amalgamation, while equality slows it down. That phenomenon is not strange, however, when one analyzes the causes underlying it. In a state of inequality the weaker race cannot defend itself against the encroachments of the stronger. Tell it not in Gath, nor in Mississippi, but miscegenation is always forced by the strong upon the weak, by the "superior" on the "inferior". The historic illustration is that miscegenation was more frequent when the Negro was slave, and is more abundant today in those communities where the Negro is most oppressed. That is because amalgamation is always the business of the male of the stronger group. Then, the weaker the

weaker group is, politically, socially and economically, the easier and simpler is that business. Of the millions of mulattoes in America today, 99 per cent are the children and grandchildren of white men—and you can generally be in doubt about the remaining one per cent.

In the end, nothing in human power can prevent blood mixtures, but equality, rather than inequality, is the system that slows down amalgamation to a sane and normal pace. The laws of nature do not accommodate our wishes in such matters, and it is absurd to oppose our prejudices to plain facts. Our sentimental attachment to an impossible ideal, coupled with normal human desire to have the advantages on our side, has misled us to believe that human oppression, rather than justice and equality, would best protect our racial characteristics. Both reason and history are so plainly to the contrary that it looks as if fate has mocked us. Not even this dear illusion, then, should be allowed to stand in the way of acquaintanceship, coöperation and harmonious living together.

Capitalism Blinds Men

GEORGE A. COE

THE failure of our business leaders to see the precipice towards which they were sprinting in the period of our "prosperity," and, now that they have led us over the precipice, their inability to understand their surroundings—this blindness of business presents a mystery. The extent of their mental failure is enormous. They cannot plead that some "act of God" or catastrophe has broken into their system from outside it, for they had attained and were exercising the precise control that they had desired, namely, concentration of the wealth of the richest nation in all history; concentrated management of even the scattered capital of the country; the quieting of organized labor; the obsequious service of science and invention; control of both the major political parties and of the main organs of publicity; tariff laws to suit a capitalist taste, and an equally agreeable policy concerning war debts, foreign markets, foreign raw materials, foreign investments, and "national defense." These men had abundant access to the information that they needed; indeed, they were employing the most elaborate and precise apparatus for the ascertainment of economic facts. Yet what was happening within their own specialty was unperceived, and when the structure that they themselves had erected tumbled about them, they did not believe their own eyes; instead, they made shallow appraisals and untrue predictions. They are now, for the most part, "waiting for something to turn up."

This is the most gigantic failure of human intelligence that mankind has experienced. What is the explanation of it? Three hypotheses are conceivable: that the problems are too great for human intelligence even at its best; that business leadership has gotten into the hands of a mentally under-gifted segment of the population; and that the native intelligence of our leaders, though it is not of an inferior order, has encountered some inner, subjective obstruction.

No one who is acquainted with the existing state of science and technology will accept the first of these explanations. Even if it were necessary to believe that basic economic forces are uncontrollable, there would still be no reason for supposing them to be inscrutable. But everything indicates that they are both understandable and controllable. During the War there was almost complete foresight and practically complete management of the economic organism. The conditions that must be met now if, say, a whole world is to be fed, are already known to economists, and a blueprint of necessary procedures could easily be made by technologists. No, the failure of business to see is not due to the invisibility of anything.

THE second hypothesis—that our business leaders are men of inferior native capacity—might yield us comfort if we could believe it, for we could focus our discontent and our struggles for relief. But this hypothesis is the opposite of the truth. Experts in

mental tests will tell you that the positions of leadership in our economic life are won, by and large, by persons of distinctly more than average inborn mental capacity. Men do not come to the top by chance, nor by chance combined with mere "pull," or with merely material aids. The active exercise of some part or phase of a superior native mentality is required.

Let us, then, examine the third hypothesis, which now takes this form: that superior native capacity for knowing has failed of full development or of full functioning by reason of some subjective obstruction. The location of this obstruction, if this be the correct hypothesis, can be stated at once. The area of mental failure in modern business is not the truth respecting mechanical forces (here our leaders have shown great keenness), but the truth concerning human factors in the economic process. As much as this is implied in the attribution of the depression to lack of "confidence," and in current efforts to restore confidence by soothing songs. The simple truth is that men are not playing their expected parts; that they cannot be made to do it; and that failure to understand the why of it involves misunderstanding of the whole dynamics of the capitalist system. Our industrialists can fit mere things together with marvellous skill, but men have not been fitted to one another, nor have things and men been fitted together. This condition is pervasive. No-body fits into capitalism according to expectation.

What has hidden these things from those whom capitalism regards as "the wise and understanding"? An answer is suggested in certain ancient documents, and it is confirmed by the psychology of society. The Hebrew prophets and the writers of the Gospels refer to men who have ears but hear not, and eyes but see not. Isaiah describes the heart of the people as having become "fat," their ears as heavy, their eyes as shut, their understanding as gone, for which reason they are unable to turn about and be healed. Again and again obtuseness is attributed to the possessors of private wealth. Doubtless observed conditions in the economic sphere furnished these words for describing a lukewarm church: "Thou sayest, 'I am rich . . . and have need of nothing'; and knowest not that thou art the wretched one and miserable and poor and blind and naked!" "It is easier," says Jesus, "for a camel to go through a needle's eye than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God"—that is, it is impossible. This was such a "hard saying" that even in the Gospels we see the beginning of interpretations that soften it—interpretations that, continuing to our day, have taken all the stiffening out of it. Why, one might ask, cannot a rich man enter the kingdom of God? The answer of the Scriptures appears to be, not that he is deliberately wicked, but that he cannot see straight; he loses his way, he lives in illusions, his understanding is not sufficient to enable him to turn about and be healed.

ARE not some of these words (even if not all of them) fitting symbols of our present situation? Has not the heart of industrialism grown "fat," and is not this the reason why even our leaders, in spite of native brightness, cannot see the way to turn and be healed? Let us ask whether this hypothesis will bear the light of psychological analysis. Is it possible to indicate how the blocking of these naturally superior minds begins? Can we trace an early dimming through increasing obscurity until actual stupidity in one or more specialties supervenes? The answer is—yes.

Intelligence in a human being becomes definitely mature, and many-sided only through give-and-take with other minds. One's very selfhood depends upon interrelations with a community of selves. Mental capacities cannot, then, develop fully and symmetrically within a class enclosure. Every ruling class puts fences about the intelligence of its members.

Now, special privilege and class rule are marks of capitalism; they are not incidental but inherent. For the maker of private profits is a *taker* of profits; he gets possession of them by reason of some advantage that he has over others without their consent. A private-profit system is also a wage system which separates management from men. It is likewise a merchandizing system that conceals even when it partly reveals, and by concealment seeks control. The devices of advertising and salesmanship constitute on the whole an endeavor to manipulate the minds of customers, with no dream of a reciprocal manipulation of dealers by customers.

Moreover, a private-profit system not only finds its apparent interest in fencing off a class mind, it assumes also that its interest lies in the widest possible mechanization of human relations. The enrichment of persons as persons through increased reciprocity is not the ideal of efficiency, but rather ability to turn the services of men on and off at will, and to direct their powers hither and thither, much as one manipulates the switches in a power house.

TO the extent that customers and employees accommodate themselves to this policy, their own intelligence is dulled, of course; but, conversely, the mentality of the capitalist leader and master becomes restricted and mechanized. It misses one of the conditions of a genuine economic realism, namely, feeling for men and thinking with them, seeing through their eyes, and judging oneself from this liberal point of view. In the absence of this mental liberality, men come to believe such things as that goods can be sold to persons who have not the means with which to buy. Another result is that men who are scientific in their approach to mechanical processes are unscientific and dogmatic with respect to social processes. Business holds, in fact, to a set of authoritative beliefs. These are dogmas with respect to economic "laws" that have

een exploded by scientific economists; with respect to the sphere of government; with respect to particular policies of government, local and national, and with respect to human nature. Unnumbered are the instances in which business orthodoxy has endeavored to rescribe the scope of the pulpit and of religion; it has penetrated education at a score of points. But in this age of science, social and economic dogmatism argues retardation of intelligence.

This inner obstruction of the mind is easily traceable in the careers of individuals. Probably most of our youth who aspire to a business career start out with a generosity of disposition that might easily develop into social understanding. But any social idealism that they may harbor meets a stern check in the conditions of employment, as everybody knows. The discipline that the cub encounters is not training in the ways of democratic fellowship, but the fixation of eyes upon some narrow part of a prescribed process, mastery of which is the only road to promotion. Any idealistic leanings that one may have must find their outlet in the church or in philanthropy—business is no place for them.

As the neophyte's success increases, he more and more values and approves the narrow road that he has been required to traverse, but also finds it necessary to rationalize the narrow self that he has become. Usually he accepts without scientific or historical analysis the current business orthodoxy that attributes to pseudo "laws" of economics the things for which one would not like to be held responsible, while to himself and his associates he attributes wisdom and the heavy responsibility of holding up and guiding the state and civilization itself. His philanthropy and his religion are sucked into the vortex of his delusion. The welfare of the masses now becomes for him a mere incident of his prosperity; "sound" politics is control of law and administration on behalf of his prosperity; "sound" morals are the morals of the social relations that make him prosperous; finally, his religion, though it enjoins the giving of crumbs to Lazarus, takes comfort in the divine right of the rich man's table. This blinding of naturally able minds is no mere incident of capitalism; it is capitalism itself considered as a psychic and ethical process.

This Amazing Decade

[As Viewed From the High Peak of Prosperity]

WE are living in wonderful times. The ten years since the war might well be called The Amazing Decade. Marvel upon marvel piled high. It is no figure of speech to say we have been transported to a new world. The tale of Aladdin no longer excites. . . .

The man whose reading goes no further than the paper's first page must be touched by the epic quality of the age. Fleets of airplanes lugging mail, express and freight by night and day; casual talk of airports as of railway stations; a telephone conversation with London, Stockholm, Berlin; radio creating its own "trade in" problems; television bringing shudders to the speaking stage.

"Yeah," says the man on the street, "television. How much will a home set cost?" Typical acknowledgment of today's expected miracles.

Of this Magic Age, business is the chief wizard. Dyes that outdo the colors of nature. Clapboards from corn-stalks. Ice from gas. Plant food plucked from the air. Artificial rubber. Alcohol, paints, paper, stockings from wood.

Conquest of the physical world alone is sufficient to justify this title of Amazing Decade. But it does not have to rest there. Spiritual

values, less tangible in their manifestations, but no less real, belong in the forefront of the picture.

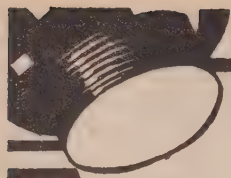
Great cooperative efforts, yet with individualism preserved. An open and unashamed commitment to ethical concepts of business practice. Wide diffusion of corporate ownership among workers and consumers. Growing regard for arbitration and conciliation in industrial relations.

And if the past decade amazes what is there to say of the coming ten years? It needs no prophet to forecast the wonders of life and living in 1938. The period just ended has leaped forward by arithmetical progression: 2, 4, 6, 8, 10. The high gear of our industrial machine will bring changes in the next decade by geometrical progression: 2, 4, 8, 16, 32. It is glorious to contemplate.

William Wordsworth, gazing into the early years of the Renaissance, exclaimed in ecstasy:

"Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive,
But to be young was very Heaven!"

The American business man might well join the refrain.—*Merle Thorpe in Nation's Business, (official journal of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States), September, 1928.*



Not in the

"Untouchability" Loses Ground

The Associated Press reports that the State of Bhoor, near Poona, India, has officially abolished "untouchability" in public places, such as in schools, courts and offices. The Hindu Nationalist Party, moreover, has secured the election to the Delhi Municipal Council of two "untouchables" in place of high-caste Hindus, while Indian newspapers print accounts of the opening of wells and temples to "untouchables" and of public banquets at which Brahmans and "untouchables" eat side by side.

Unemployment and Health

The dreadful consequences of prolonged unemployment are being revealed in a stock-taking by health authorities in Germany. Undernourishment not unlike that which prevailed shortly after the World War is rampant among the working classes. With it goes an alarming increase of tuberculosis, anaemia, and other disorders. Conditions are worse in the towns and villages than in the larger cities.

Manchukuo Passport Visés

The Chinese consulate in Kobe has refused to visé the passport of a young Russian pianist on his way to Shanghai, because his passport was certified by Manchukuo. More than 200 travelers arrived in Japan with Manchukuo visés. If the Chinese persist in their attitude, these travelers will not be able to travel home over China.

Coöperatives and Trade Unions

What consumers' coöperation can do for the worker will be the subject for study by a joint educational committee, consisting of members of consumers' coöperatives and members of trade unions, which was appointed by the recent national conference of the Coöperative League of America. The advantages of coöperation, so the conference decided, should be made more generally known than they are at present among the working class. In Great Britain, it was pointed out, a sum equal to \$100,000,000 a year is turned back in patronage rebates to the 6,500,000 consumers, practically all of whom are workers, a sum which in private trade would have found its way into the pockets of capitalists as profits. A similar committee was appointed to map out plans for closer work with producers' coöperatives.

New York's New Mayor

John Patrick O'Brien, Mayor-elect of New York, afforded the city considerable amusement in the course of his election campaign. Among the planks on which Mr. O'Brien made his bid for the mayoralty were: "A kiddie in every home"; "I am in favor of the R.O.T.C. in American universities and against pacifists, who are a terrible sedition going across the country"; and "I don't believe in placing paramours on pedestals and ignoring wives." In the course of an address before a local Greek organization, Mr. O'Brien aired his erudition to the extent of remarking modestly, "I don't want to boast of my Greek training. I have a few medals at home that I won for a translation from Horace." A society which he addressed in Chinatown conferred upon the future Mayor the name of "Ole-Bo-Lon," meaning "Scent of Chrysanthemum."

U. S. Drops from First to Fifth

Imports of the Soviet Union from its six principal sources of supply, according to figures recently released by Soviet headquarters, are as follows:

	Imports in first 8 months of		
	1932	1931	1930
	(millions of dollars)		
Germany	120.4	122.0	78.9
Great Britain....	34.4	23.5	27.0
Persia	21.6	16.2	17.6
Italy	11.3	9.6	3.9
United States ..	10.8	90.0	108.3
Sweden	8.3	5.0	6.6

Swedish Arms Makers

The Swedish government has ordered an immediate inquiry into the possibility of controlling the arms industry of the country. The move looks in the direction of transforming the industry into a state monopoly and restricting the exportation of war materials. The government believes this step would be a contribution to the disarmament problem.

Socialism to the Rescue

According to a special cable to the New York Times, the Chilean government contemplates taking over the nation's entire wheat crop in the next harvest. In the administration's effort to insure an adequate bread supply for the people of Chile, there would be no holding of private stocks, no exporting and no speculation. Among the suggestions being considered is that farmers be compelled to turn over uncultivated land to the jobless for the purpose of raising wheat.

Married Women and Jobs

In May, 1932, a law was passed in Germany permitting the dismissal of all married women from official positions, provided there is some assurance that the will not starve. Many women are now losing their jobs. It's still a man's world as the "inferior women" are again made to realize.

Wild Children

More than 10 per cent of the homeless and jobless wanderers who roam New York streets are boys ranging from 16 to 20 years of age. There will be more than 5,000 of these boys to take care of during the coming winter.

Consumers Waking Up

Consumers' Research, which provides unbiased information and counsel on goods bought by the ultimate consumer, reports a membership of 36,800.

Exit Lord Passfield

Lord Passfield has decided to relinquish his title. He will again be known simply as Sidney Webb.

Soviet Canal Nears Completion

The White Sea-Baltic Canal project is nearly ready for traffic. The canal was designed to relieve the pressure on the single track Murman railway and to render the growing industrial district in northern Russia less dependent on Arctic navigation. The northern end of the canal is Soroka on the White Sea, the southern end is Leningrad, where it ties up with the whole Russian railway system.

Minimum Wage in Danger

Mrs. Mabel E. Kinney, chairman of the California Division of Industrial Welfare, has announced that in December a public hearing will be held in Los Angeles to decide on changes in the Women's Minimum Wage law. The commission will issue questionnaires to unions, chambers of commerce, associations of employers and employees, and individuals, and all interested are invited to attend the hearing. The attitude of the commission is indicated by the following statement from Mrs. Kinney: "The Commission does not at any time wish to set any rate that would deprive the working woman of her just compensation . . . while at the same time considering the wage from the employer's viewpoint." Defenders of the minimum wage law are alarmed over what seems to be genuine danger to the minimum wage in California.

Headlines

Overproduction" of Lawyers

The number of lawyers in the United States increased during the decade 1920-30 at almost double the rate of population growth. The 1930 census reports 100,000 lawyers as against 122,500 in 1920, an increase of 31 per cent. The population increased during that same period by 15 per cent. According to Assistant Secretary of State Rogers, 7,700 lawyers are admitted per year to replace about 3,800. Mr. Rogers points out the generally detrimental results of this condition, which involves the usual evils of excessive competition. "The public," says Mr. Rogers, "in the end will suffer . . . from the existence of misfits, failures, wasted energies and frustrated efforts."

British Museum Newspaper Library

Fourteen miles of newspaper files of all countries and periods are contained in the new newspaper library branch of the British Museum at Hendon. A total of 275,000 bound volumes of newspapers, weighing 20,000 tons, are contained in the library.

Sterilization in the United States

Eleven thousand persons, male and female, have been sterilized in the United States in the last 24 years—7,000 in California alone. Legislation on the subject has been passed by 23 American states and by half a dozen foreign countries.

Back to the Farm

The U. S. Department of Agriculture reports that the farm population increased in 1931 by 648,000. During 1931, 1,472,000 persons left the farms while 1,679,000 moved farmward. On Jan. 1, 1932, the farm population numbered 31,260,000. This increase was due wholly to an attempt to obtain low-cost housing and partial subsistence.

Canadian Unemployment

Canadian trade unions report that 21.8 per cent of their members were unemployed at the end of last July, as compared with 21.9 per cent at the close of June. In July of last year the percentage was 16.2. The normal change from June to July would be a decrease of several points in unemployment. The government index of employment for August was 86.3 compared with 88.7 in July and 89.1 in June. In July of last year the index was 93.8.

Patrioteering That Failed

Harry A. Jung, well-known patrioteer of the American Vigilante Intelligence Association, addressed the Chicago Preachers' Meeting on "communistic activities" in the United States. The preachers listened and then passed a motion "vigorously opposing the aims and tactics employed" by such organizations and deplored "the personal attacks made in the name of patriotism on ministers and others by unofficial, self-appointed spying organizations."

Latvia's Worker-Poet

An imposing memorial has been unveiled at the grave of the Latvian poet-philosopher, Rainis, the fruit of a competition for the best design and a campaign to raise memorial funds. The memorial rises above Rainis's grave as a testimony to the new culture sought by the working class of Latvia. On the day of the ceremony, thousands gathered in the cemetery, and organizations from all over Latvia sent delegates. A stream of visitors, late into the night, passed by the grave and laid flowers upon it.

Plea for Laissez-faire

The Kansas City Power and Light Company uses a full page in the Kansas City *Star* to oppose "government in business," the "plague of over-taxation," and a reduction of rates.

Japan Prepares for War

Various news services are reporting intensive armament work in Japan. Taken together they represent a picture of a country working at top speed preparing for war. A factory has been established for the manufacture of poison gas. Airplane factories everywhere are speeding up production in war planes. An electric clock factory and a musical instruments works have set up additional workshops for the manufacture of airplane propellers. The motor car industry is also very busy with military trucks.

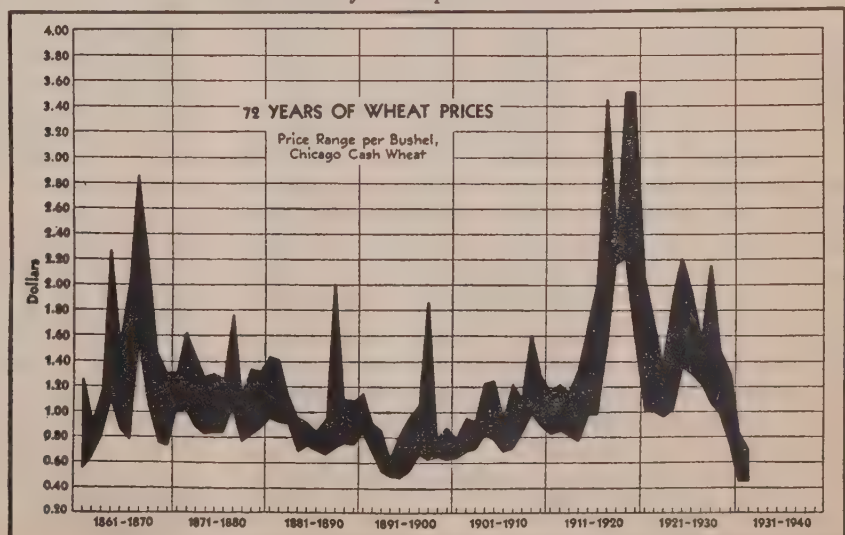
Sign of the Times

Death threats, reports the Atlanta *Constitution*, have been received by two Georgia newspapers, the *Gwinnet Journal* and the *News-Herald*, both of Lawrenceville, Georgia. The letters warned the editors that they must refuse to print any further notices of land or property for sale to meet debts.

The Smoot-Hawley Tariff At Work

The Toronto Industrial Commission reports the rapid development of American branch factories in Canada. Nearly 100 American subsidiary factories occupy 1,000,000 square feet of floor space, have upward of \$4,000,000 new capital invested and are giving employment to more than 2,300 additional workers.

The Insanity of Capitalist Economics



—From *Business Week*, Nov. 9, 1932

Probing to the Roots of Missions

SHERWOOD EDDY

THE year 1932 has been marked by the publication of two epoch-making reports. The Lytton Report of the League Commission, whether or not it is immediately accepted by either Japan or China, marks a milestone of advance among modern historic documents concerning international relations and peace. It may save the League the prestige it has lost over Manchuria and point the way toward the ultimate solution of this and other controversies. Another great document which concerns both the Orient and the Occident and which, in a totally different field, will make history, is the Report of the Commission of Appraisal of the Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry.

In order to study and re-appraise the world-wide work of missions and to change or modernize its methods where that was found desirable, seven of the stronger denominations united in this project. First a fact-finding group of experts was sent out to gather data in India, Burma, China and Japan. Later a Commission of Appraisal of 15 members, under the chairmanship of Professor Hocking of Harvard, was sent to these countries. It is the report of this Commission which is now before us. It is an able document, objective, scientific, fearless, soundly critical but also constructive and creative, and will in time force the bulk of the foreign missionary enterprise to revise its methods and enter the modern world as the great history-making dynamic which it is capable of becoming.

Whatever the defects of our civilization, of our systems of government, education or social organization, we cannot, even in an age of transition, escape the basic necessity of the sharing of whatever values we have found as the chief method of human progress. However tentative and imperfect may be our ideas of value, we must share the best we have in the home and school and in our domestic and international relations, in our common search for truth. We cannot leave the world in permanent water-tight compartments, nor can we leave savage or backward peoples for milleniums in ignorance, superstition, fear and malicious social practices. Whether we will or no, the trader is sending abroad our liquor, our drugs and firearms to poison and pervert primitive peoples. If we cannot prevent men profiteering out of the worst, we should certainly not deprecate their generous sharing of their best.

If the Communist has found the values of what he believes to be a new way of life, necessity is laid upon him for sharing or propagating those values, though we may condemn or prevent the method of violence which he employs. If the religionist believes he has

found a unique and supreme value in life, we cannot condemn his non-violent method of goodwill in seeking to share it. Missions have played a palpable part in the making of modern history from the days of David Livingstone's explorations amid the slave trade in Africa, the founding by William Carey and Alexander Duff of institutions of higher learning in India, and the revolution inaugurated in the petrified civilization of China the day Robert Morrison landed in that ancient land of culture.

But as this Laymen's Report shows, a new day has dawned in the missionary enterprise. Though it finds much to alter and improve, the Commission reaffirms the necessity and value of the missionary enterprise as a whole: "To ask whether missions in essence should any longer go on is like asking whether good will should continue or cease to express itself." The Commission thus conceives the aim of missions: "To seek with people of other lands a true knowledge and love of God, expressing in life and word what we have learned through Jesus Christ, and endeavoring to give effect to his spirit in the life of the world."

THE scope of missions, the Report states, includes not only the proclaiming of a message of a new way of life and thought, but the mastering of languages, translation and the production of literature; a scheme of primary, practical and higher education, the training of leaders, the relief of human suffering through hospitals and medical service, the whole sweep of humanitarian activities, the improvement of village life and the productivity of agriculture, the forming of coöperative societies, and a social and political program that will meet the evils of the industrial revolution that has now entered the Orient with all its dangers. Yet the work must begin in the creation of a new kind of person as the unit of the new society they seek to build.

In its attitude to other faiths the mission of today should associate itself with whatever kindred elements there are in these faiths, with all that is strong and sound in the non-Christian religions: "It is clearly not the duty of the Christian missionary to attack the non-Christian systems . . . but regard himself as a co-worker with the forces within each such religious system which are making for righteousness."

The Commission recommends a much more critical selection of candidates for the mission field; nationals should have a voice in their selection and retention; they should be better trained and the early years of

their service should be of a probationary nature. There should be an immediate pruning out of the unfit who are already on the field, and in the future missions should place the emphasis upon quality rather than quantity in their personnels. There should be a greater concentration of effort on the most essential phases of the work rather than a too wide and superficial diffusion. Educational and other philanthropic objects of mission work should be set free from organizational responsibility to the work of conscious and direct evangelism, and standards of teaching and of medical service should be higher, not lower, than those of secular or government work.

Missions should now be preparing to pass from the temporary, pioneer work to the permanent function of promoting world understanding and unity through the ambassadorship of relatively few highly equipped persons. There should be a more rapid devolution and transfer of responsibility to the hands of nationals. This devolution should be real, not nominal; and gradual, not abrupt.

THROUGHOUT the report the Commission is completely modern in its viewpoint in recognizing the altered theological outlook. Western Christianity has in the main shifted its stress from the negative to the affirmative side of its message; it is less a religion of fear and more a religion of beneficence, "it has become less concerned in any land to save men from eternal punishment than from the danger of losing the supreme good." Its further argument is to be less with Islam or Hinduism or Buddhism than with materialism, secularism, naturalism. "Christianity finds itself in point of fact aligned in this world-wide issue with the non-Christian faiths of Asia."

The ten million members represented by these seven boards have been giving \$1.41 per capita a year for this work. Purposeless and wasteful duplication henceforth should cease. "Costly overlapping, wasteful overhead expenses, the ineffective use of money and personnel, with the more vital losses involved in spiritual disunity and in the tacit misrepresentation of Christianity" must end. "Thoughtful Protestants will no longer insist upon imposing a particular theology and polity upon the Christians of Asia."

The Commission finds that "in neither India, China nor Japan have missions studied carefully the problems of modern industry." There should be a new school or schools for social and economic research abroad. "The Commission recommends that missionaries make the acquaintance of labor union leaders and cultivate cordial relations with them. . . . They should be particularly fearless in attacking the evils of capitalism and in endeavoring to correct them. Socialism should be better understood . . . as in many of its motives it is essentially Christian. . . . There should be a careful study made of Communism. . . . Missions

should maintain friendly relations with leaders of every variety of economic thought—capitalist, socialist and communist. . . . Missions and organized Christianity should consider it their duty to stimulate thought, never to suppress it."

Finally, the Commission believes that the time has come for a plan of administrative unity on a comprehensive scale, and proposes in place of the divided denomination boards at home and their competitive and overlapping work abroad *a single organization for Christian service abroad* which should unite the efforts of at least the seven mission boards concerned in the investigation of this Commission of Appraisal. The Commission concludes: "If a new alignment of forces, rising above denominational and doctrinal barriers, can evoke creative missionary statesmanship at home and abroad, can command the enthusiasm of the finest and most adventurous type of Christian young men and women, and bring the whole enterprise to new levels of accomplishment, we are convinced that the churches of America will have a great part in the making of a better and happier world, but not otherwise. Its accomplishment will require a hearty acceptance of the general principles that have been laid down. If these can be attained, the task of perfecting a plan of unification can be undertaken with assurance."

Do You Call This Justice?

NUMBER OF STATE ACCREDITED NEGRO AND WHITE HIGH SCHOOLS
IN SEVENTEEN SOUTHERN STATES (1925-1926)

State	Population		State Accredited Four Year High Schools					
	Negro	White	Negro			White		
			Public	Private	Total	Public	Private	Total
Alabama —	900,652	1,447,032	0	0	0	247	36	283
Arkansas —	472,220	1,279,757	3	3	6	194	26	220
Florida —	329,487	638,153	2	0	2	138	3	141
Georgia —	1,206,365	1,689,114	3	9	12	—	—	309
Kansas —	57,925	1,708,906	1	0	1	642	43	685
Kentucky —	235,938	2,180,560	14	0	14	342	73	415
Louisiana —	700,257	1,096,611	3	1	4	340	53	393
Maryland —	244,479	1,204,737	10	2	12	125	0	125
Mississippi —	935,184	853,962	7	8	15	—	—	290
Missouri —	178,241	3,225,044	7	3	10	562	?	562
N. Carolina —	763,407	1,783,779	25	24	49	453	41	494
Oklahoma —	149,408	1,821,194	8	0	8	—	—	420
S. Carolina —	864,719	818,538	0	0	0	?	?	—
Tennessee —	451,758	1,885,993	12	0	12	304	12	316
Texas —	741,694	3,918,165	15	10	25	—	—	548
Virginia —	690,017	1,617,909	8	11	19	369	60	429
W. Virginia —	86,345	1,377,235	15	1	16	188	5	193
Total —	9,008,096	28,546,689	134	71	205	3,904	352	5,828

—The Journal of Negro Education



The Book End

With occasional exceptions important enough to merit drastic criticism, THE WORLD TOMORROW reviews only books which believes, after careful evaluation, are of genuine worth.

Through Mammon to God

God's Gold. By John T. Flynn. Harcourt, Brace and Co. \$3.50.

ALTHOUGH John D. Rockefeller is still alive, his career, as far as history is concerned, closed 15 years ago. Nothing more is likely to be added to a biography of him except to note the date and circumstances of his death. What there is to tell about him can be written now as well as later. That much has already been written one realizes quickly enough by glancing at the voluminous bibliography appended to this book. Nevertheless *God's Gold* is the first full-length biography that we have of the elder Rockefeller, tracing his story from the uncertain and harassing boyhood days in the farming region of Central New York through his early business life in Cleveland as a wholesale produce merchant, then at greater length through his long career in the refining and marketing of oil to the days of retirement and golf. Some phases of the story, such as the rise and early development of the oil monopoly, have already been recounted in detail by Henry Demerest Lloyd and Ida Tarbell, but a reconsideration of these and other books is now necessary to fit the career of Rockefeller into the general pattern of economic history during this era.

God's Gold, then, is more than a well constructed and eminently fair biography of a business genius; it is a colorful picture of a highly variegated and intensely hectic period of our history. It was the period which marks in American civilization the climax of *laissez-faire*, with its inefficiency, its waste, its ruthless competition, its senseless and chaotic struggle for existence. In the foreground is always Rockefeller himself, dominated by an Old Testament theology to which he tenaciously clung from boyhood, fair and honest with those who would play his own game, utterly ruthless in crushing a competitor, oblivious to the social implications of the Gospels, but sincerely desirous of using his vast wealth for the benefit of mankind. Hardly honest himself in the legal battles in which his interests were concerned, he surrounded himself with the most unscrupulous lieutenants, whose activities he never repudiated.

Little is gained by any attempt to appraise John D. Rockefeller by any code of moral or business ethics which this generation may try to set up. He was the product of an economic era characterized by knock-down, drag-out methods. The devil took the hindmost, and the man who came out on top believed God had given him his gold. Into this economic chaos came John D. Rockefeller who brought some order in one industry. Rockefeller had no idea that he represented a new and saner day. He simply saw that conditions in the industry in which he was interested were intolerable and he devoted his talents to the elimination of competition and inefficiency, incidentally building a great monopoly and making it possible for himself and his own group to make profits. Nor was he guilty of stock watering and many other tricks of financial legerdemain by which his contemporaries built

up great fortunes and by which his successors are still fleecing the public.

Unbeknown to himself, Rockefeller was leading the way to next step in economic development. Thousands fell by the wayside, but the lesson was worth it. The ultimate outcome, it is to be hoped, is not the introduction of sane and orderly business methods in a world of economic chaos, so that a few may realize huge profits from the monopolization of a great natural resource; it is rather the coming of a sane order in which all may gain. Rockefeller and his work represented the first step in this direction, and his career is significant chiefly when this is recognized. The history of Standard Oil, however, is also interesting to the economist and historian as a case study of the inevitable integration of large scale business. Interested at first only in the refining of oil, the activities of the concern soon expanded to include transportation through pipe lines, the wholesaling and retailing of oil and eventually its production, until a single company controlled every step from the oil well to the gasoline tank on the individual motor car. Rockefeller and Standard Oil represent more than an episode in American economic history; they constitute an epoch. Mr. Flynn has grasped this fact and has told the story with fairness and no inconsiderable skill.

HAROLD U. FAULKNER

Baedeker for Chaos

A Guide Through World Chaos. By G. D. H. Cole. Alfred Knopf. 549 pp. \$3.75.

THE title of this book is truly descriptive of its content. Though many offerings in time of depression make a diminished appeal to our purses, this volume, presenting a comprehensive picture of the enormously complicated situation in which we find ourselves, ought to attract a very large number of readers. Mr. Cole, now 43, is old enough to have matured his views and yet young enough to be mentally limber. His ample academic training, his long and constructive participation in public economic discussion, his ability to inform his survey with critical judgment, his great gift for statement, impart to the book an unusual claim upon general attention.

The plan of the volume is a review of the critical problems now confronting the world, considered in their theoretical and practical aspects, followed by an objective consideration of means of exit from our predicament, and the whole concluded with positive and far-reaching recommendations as to the course which the world, and more particularly Great Britain, should follow. The point of view is international, but at the same time the author shows intimate acquaintance with conditions in the several countries.

The work upsets the contention, so assiduously spread in the United States, that the depression was made in Europe. The blame which Mr. Cole lays upon America is much more than an Old World rejoinder; he reasons the matter out with convincing

particularity. The imbecility of the belief that American can remain economically isolated is amply demonstrated. It is worth while to review Mr. Cole's line of reasoning.

Already in 1928 there were evidences of disequilibrium in the American economic system. The farmers were at a serious disadvantage, for they sold their staples at low world-market prices and bought supplies of manufactured goods at high domestic prices, rendered higher by the price stabilization policy of the Federal Reserve system. Manufacturing industries were making great technological advance, which meant that the workers leaving the farms were disappointed in their hopes of finding work in the cities. Moreover, the wages of those who continued to be employed did not keep pace with the expansion of productive power. We invested too much and spent too little on consumption goods. Even the high prices prevailing here, and the falling prices in the rest of the world, we could not increase our exports except as we gained other countries the necessary purchasing power. This we did, lending to Germany alone perhaps as much as \$1,500,000,000, until the Wall Street boom of 1928-29, presenting opportunity for enormous paper profits, suddenly checked our foreign lending. Furthermore, money flowed to the stock market from other countries, proportionately inflating our security values and diminishing the buying power of our customers abroad. When collapse came here, depression rapidly seized the rest of the world.

European losses in the American stock market, combined with the steady drain of interest on war and post-war loans, caused a restrictive credit policy in Europe which added to cost of production there, and increased unemployment. Gold began to "silt up" in the American banking system. The impact was particularly heavy upon Germany. Rationalization of her war-destroyed industries had been financed largely by long-term loans from the United States; when capital from this country was no longer available after the Wall Street crash, Germany was driven to perilous short-term borrowing from English, Dutch, and Swiss sources. The continued recall of American money scared European lenders, so that the sources of even short-term funds began to dry up. The Germans had counted on an expanding world market for their goods, but this market began to contract. The domestic standard of living was depressed further in the effort to sell at home at high prices while simultaneously cutting wages so as to be able to sell abroad at low prices. The moratorium on war debts and reparations and the Berlin "standstill" agreement (German creditors conceding delay in collection of short-term obligations) prevented collapse, only to leave the causes of trouble untouched. Ensuing reconsideration of war debts and reparations ended by making virtual cancellation contingent upon the willingness of the United States to permit corresponding remission of debts owed us from Europe.

Mr. Cole is a Socialist, believing that capitalism may not be rehabilitated, and on the other hand that sudden expropriative revolution is not possible in Great Britain or in America. America, he thinks, will probably be long in turning to effective collectivism, but he thinks his own country is ready for it. The method he recommends is that of gradual socialization, beginning with the banking system and the setting up of agencies for national investment and national economic development. An important means should be a managed currency, unrelated to gold, for domestic use, and the continuance of the employment of gold in payment of international balances only. Cole considers that European countries now off the gold standard will return to it, or ought to return to it, only on the basis of devalued currencies.

BROADUS MITCHELL

Patriots and Patrioteers

The Navy: Defense or Portent? By Charles A. Beard. Harper Brothers. \$2.00.

HERE is a valuable study of the important issue which Dr. Beard states fairly and frankly in his title. Is our navy for defense? If so, for defense of what? Our "big navy" propagandists like to argue that we must have a navy big enough to defend our interests against any power or combination of powers in any part of the world. Our government, on the other hand, renounced, by the ratios of the Washington and London Conferences and the agreement not to fortify American possessions in the Far East, the right to a navy that could carry on a successful major operation against either Japan or Great Britain on their sides of the oceans. Is not the present navy propaganda a portent of army and navy domination, the bureaucrats being supported by the shipbuilders and nationalist groups?

The lay reader will find this book concrete and extremely readable. It is far from technical in its discussions and yet careful and accurate in its documentation. It is replete with quotations and illustrations for opponents of "big navy" propaganda.

The records of the plots and machinations by which national defense is too often promoted are not usually open to research workers like Dr. Beard. Fortunately, he found ready to his hand two authentic narratives of great importance to everybody. One was the story of how von Tirpitz built the German fleet, laboriously extracted from the secret archives of the German Imperial Government by Dr. Eckert Kehr. The other was the Shearer hearings in which are brought under the spotlight the devious ways of our shipbuilding corporations, specifically the Bethlehem Shipbuilding Corporation, of which Mr. Schwab is the head, the Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company and the American Brown Boveri Company.

This fall and winter, reduction of our navy by agreement with other naval powers will be seriously considered, together with important and necessary economies in our naval program. Those who are advocating these policies, and all students interested in the future of our country will do well to familiarize themselves with the contents of this book.

FREDERICK J. LIBBY

Science Turns Toward Religion

The Religion of Scientists. Edited by C. L. Drawbridge. The Macmillan Co. \$1.25.

Stars, Atoms, and God. By Harris Elliott Kirk. University of North Carolina Press. \$1.00.

Has Science Discovered God? Edited by Edward H. Cotton. Thomas Y. Crowell Co. \$3.50.

Wise Men Worship. Compiled by Mabel Hill. E. P. Dutton and Co. \$1.00.

Paths to the Presence of God. By Albert W. Palmer. The Pilgrim Press. \$1.00.

The Open World. By Hermann Weyl. Yale University Press. \$1.50.

THE first of these volumes records the answers of 200 Fellows of the Royal Society to several questions on religion. To the query, "Do you credit the existence of a spiritual domain?" 121 replied in the affirmative, 13 in the negative, and 66 gave no answer or were indefinite. Only 26 replied yes to the question, "Do you think that science negatives the idea of a personal God as taught by Jesus Christ?" whereas 103 said no. The responses to several other questions, together with numerous comments by

these outstanding scientists, are included in this rewarding little book.

With simplicity and lucidity, Dr. Kirk has summarized the latest trends in astronomy and physics, and has interpreted their significance for religion. Mr. Cotton has assembled an interesting symposium on religion to which Kirtley F. Mather, Robert A. Millikan, Arthur S. Eddington, Heber D. Curtis, Edwin G. Conklin, Albert Einstein, Julian S. Huxley, George Thomas White Patrick, William McDougall, Sir J. Arthur Thomson, Michael Pupin, John Langdon-Davies, Harlan T. Stetson, Sir James Jeans, Sir Oliver Lodge, and J. Malcolm Bird contribute or are quoted. *Wise Men Worship* is a compilation of excerpts from scientists, philosophers and professional men concerning science and religion, including several of the names listed above. President Palmer has written an extremely helpful little volume, with chapters on science, nature, humanity, worship and Jesus as gateways to God. *The Open World* consists of the Terry Lectures delivered at Yale by the distinguished German professor, Hermann Weyl, and is a highly technical presentation of a mathematical approach to religious reality.

These six volumes reveal a significant trend toward religion among scientists. Many of the most eminent men in their respective fields are devout believers and are able to present convincing reasons for the faith they hold. Indeed, Professor Einstein says that "the cosmic religious experience is the strongest and noblest driving force behind scientific research." No longer need a student labor under the delusion that it is not intellectually respectable to believe in God. Modern science furnishes a foundation upon which a vital religious experience may be built.

K. P.

WE RECOMMEND

Purdah: The Status of Indian Women. By Frieda Hauswirth Das. Vanguard Press. \$4.00. A very readable, fair and sympathetic account of the status of women in India from the earliest Vedic days to the present hour, by the German wife of a prominent Hindu. The author's analysis of the effect of British occupation upon Hindu customs is dispassionate and interesting. She points out that the British prohibition of the immolation of widows came only after a hundred years of agitation against this abuse by progressive Hindus. She believes that the imperialists were always quick to change and to abolish native customs and usages when these interfered with British interests and were always very slow to do so when their abolition threatened British rule or prestige.

Bolshevism, Theory and Practice. By Waldemar Gurian. Macmillan Company. \$3.00. Dr. Gurian, who is a noted German journalist and sociologist, has written a careful analysis of communist theory and Russian statecraft. While the book is extremely critical, it is dispassionate and honest and is not to be compared with the diatribes of some opponents of communism. The book contains a brief history of communist thought; an exposition of the technique of Russian government, including very critical and useful examination of its terrorism; interesting character sketches of the great revolutionary leaders, Trotsky, Lenin, Stalin and others, and finally some of the most important Soviet documents and personal statements of the communist leaders. The book has a definite bias, but what book on Russia has not? And its information is useful.

Shorter Hours. By Marion Cotter Cahill. Columbia University Press. \$4.50. An exhaustive and authoritative study of the hours movement since the Civil War. The parts played respectively by legislation, direct action by workers and voluntary action by employers are set forth. The enactment of an eight-hour day law, shrieked one employer, "would cause an immediate and disastrous industrial and social revolution. Hitherto, relations between employer and the employed have been adjusted by natural laws."

Caste and Race in India. By G. S. Ghurye. Alfred Knopf. \$4.00. Dr. Ghurye, a reader in sociology at the University of Bombay, has made an unbiased and scholarly analysis of the Indian caste system which must be regarded as an indispensable addition to any library on Indian affairs and to the reading of any student of Indian life. The intricacies of the caste system are carefully analysed and all the economic, racial and religious factors which help to determine caste in India are clearly revealed. The author is convinced that changes in the economic life of India and the growing national patriotism will gradually eliminate caste loyalty and its consequent evils. He would lift the "untouchables" by offering special educational advantages to them. His plans for reform are not altogether realistic because they are not politically implemented. They are on a par with the ideals of many of our own social scientists who expect to eliminate our various social evils by a more adequate educational program. The book is stronger in its analysis than in its prescriptions.

CORRESPONDENCE

Believe It or Not!

YOU certainly have plenty of crust in addressing a circular letter to me to ask support of a movement and project for which there is probably no more bitter nor unyielding antagonist in this republic than myself. It is movements such as yours that are causing the disintegration of everything that is fine and right and just in civilization today in the one stronghold that is left to us who revere these things and if I could have my way I would exterminate you with the ruthlessness which any such pestilence deserves.

From the very beginnings of civilization the one motivating factor for right living has been the fact that if a man did not work he would suffer the natural consequences of starvation. Through the influence of movements such as yours this motivating factor for right living is now being slowly disintegrated. Through federal, state, county, municipal and private charities we are doling out money to people who have no reason whatever to receive it and who, so long as this is done, will never work. It is a sad state of affairs and the gloomiest part of it is that it is the history of these things that, once started, they are never abandoned. "Emergency relief" becomes permanent paternalism in every known instance. God (or Somebody) created a world in which men were placed to work—or else! There is always plenty of work for man to do and there is always a market for that work at some price. When we lose sight of these fundamentals and substitute the muddled thinking of a lot of smart-aleck editors and other non-working reformers the "World Tomorrow" will be a sorry place indeed.

Chicago, Ill.

JAMES A. GREIG

Managing Secretary, International Stamp
Manufacturers' Association

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Look for Clippings on War and Peace

A STUDY is being conducted by Gordon Halstead in an effort to determine the type of thinking that is being done in various groups and leaders throughout the country on the general subject of peace and how to secure it. Mr. Halstead is paying for his main source of information upon newspaper clippings and records of speeches being made throughout the country. Armistice Day speeches, for instance, will be carefully tabulated with reference to the emphasis on such themes as non-violence, social and economic reconstruction, opposition to the spirit of war, philosophical anarchism, disarmament, outlawry of war, strengthening of the League of Nations, armed preparedness, check on population growth, new international economic relationships, non-resistance and kindred subjects. Clippings, and copies of speeches will be gratefully received. Such excerpts should be mailed to Mr. Halstead at 1430 Cambridge Road, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Labor Literature Wanted

A CIRCULATING library has been organized among North Carolina Textile Workers who are interested in forming study groups but whose wages forbid the purchase of books. Miss Paulah Carter, organizer for the American Federation of Full Fashion Hosiery Workers' Union, announces that there are many requests for pamphlets published by Brookwood Labor College, such as *Your Job and Your Pay*, by Pollack and Tippet; *When Southern Labor Stirs*, by Tippet; *Clash*, by Helen Wilkerson, and others. Those who wish to send any of these books or any other labor literature are invited to mail them to Miss Carter at 512 Willard Street, Durham, N. C.

The World Tomorrow as Reference

ALL articles appearing in THE WORLD TOMORROW for the past three and one-half years are indexed, classified under subject headings, in the eighth cumulated volume of *The Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature*, just published by the H. W. Wilson Company. *The Readers' Guide* is to be found in more than 500 libraries throughout the country, thus making it possible for any of our readers to find out with a minimum of effort just what issue we have dealt with any topic that may be of particular interest to him.

World Tomorrow Radio Hour

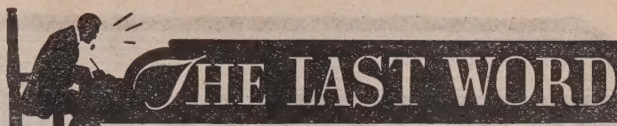
Tuesday, November 22—8:15 P.M.

Speaker: Kirby Page.

Subject: "Will There Be War over Manchuria?"

Tune in every Tuesday evening at 8:15

Station WEVD (1300 K; 231 M)



AMONG those who have shown great disappointment over the failure of the Socialist Party to capture the two million votes indicated early in the campaign by the straw polls, I must not be counted. In the first place, I never ventured such a prediction; and in the second place, I am pretty well satisfied with the outcome, everything considered. We got all, in view of our slowness to organize in earlier years, that we deserved. That the basic development of our movement is fast enough to bring triumph is indicated by long-range factors that are easily overlooked by the superficial. Eccentricus, wearied by campaigning, became for an hour an amateur naturalist again; and as always, found surcease by a glance around the cosmos. Through the eyes of a Smithsonian scientist he spent a while on the moon, and began to realize that a great many people on this earth belong in reality upon our gleaming satellite. The lunar mountains are as steep and would be as hard to climb as ours. "We must further remember," says our seer, "that on the moon, because of the greater curvature of its globe . . . the horizon is closer, and therefore objects disappear behind it at a shorter range." To those with loony vision, it must have seemed that way about our extra million votes. In the sight of those accustomed to viewing human affairs as if they were watching a moonscape, "the apparent movement of the heavens is of course slowed down . . . and the stars will appear to rise with a majestic slowness." Now as I go about my revolution, I am well aware that the stars in their courses seem to progress at a snail's pace and then suddenly flash like a comet across the sky. For I, unlike the average bit of cosmic flotsam and jetsam, move not in an orthodox but in an eccentric orbit.

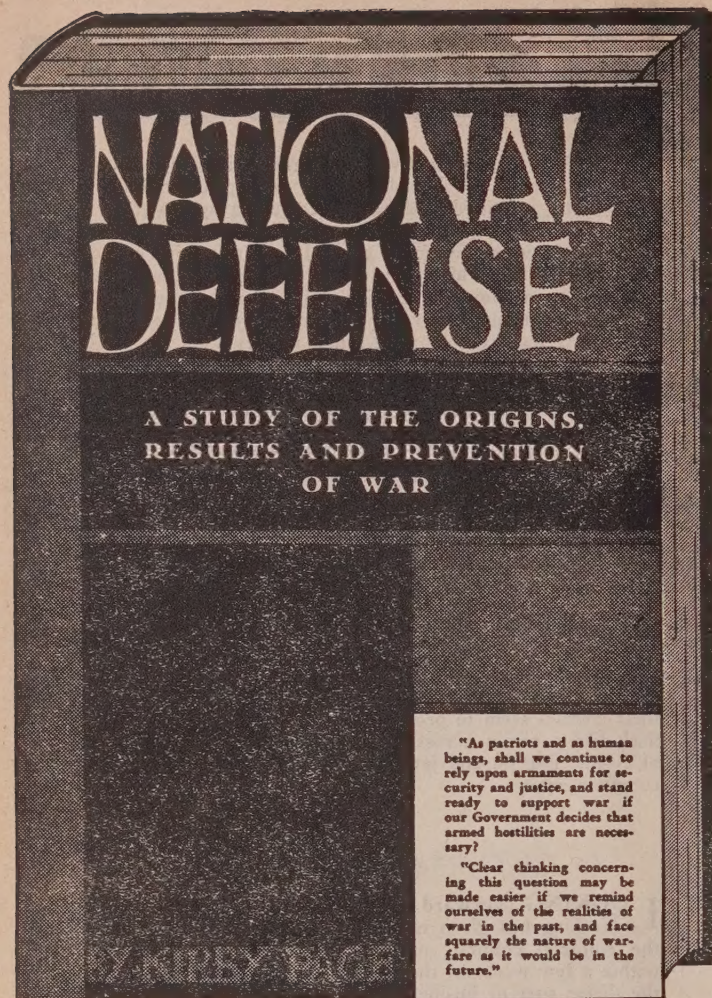
LOOKING backward is always more fun than looking ahead. Nothing has given me such genuine amusement for years as the editorial columns of Republican newspapers which, up to within a few weeks of the election or even later, were prophesying the direst sort of business slump, even economic catastrophe (as though we had never heard of one) if the Democrats should win. The Kansas City *Star* observes that "In view of the vast wave of popular approval under which the new administration assumes office, the psychology should be right for increasing confidence and a steady upward spiral of business." The New York *Sun* declared, "As Garfield said on an occasion more depressing than this, 'God reigns, and the Government at Washington still lives.'" I can't help wondering, faintly, what Mr. Foster and his friends now think about the propaganda they issued during the strenuous days of the campaign. Especially, that little work of impressionistic art, issued from headquarters under date of October 1, "Norman Thomas In Plot To Re-Elect Hoover."

BUT even the powers of religion, I note, are with the Socialist cause. At least, that staid old firm, the John C. Winston Company, have got out a "marked Bible," in which color is used over type to indicate various Scriptural categories. I have heard of "purple prophecies" before, and am interested to see that the prophetic utterances of the Good Book are colored with that hue. Temporal blessings, appropriately, are in a golden brown. Looking at this heathenish world and the slowness with which goodness grows, the compilers have put in green everything referring to the Holy Spirit. But there is no need for worry. Salvation is in red.

Eccentricus

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